2:Newcomb E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

that the Delaware groups nearest to the Iroquois had been influenced by them. The Munsi were nearest to the Iroquois, and Harrington's informants were predominantly of this group. The various house styles, on the other hand, are possibly related to the seasonal movements of the Delawares, who, like the central Algonkians, may have utilized the rectangular, bark-covered long house in summer and the dome-shaped lodge in winter.[129]

The dome-shaped lodges were simple structures built by placing pieces of bark, preferably of linden or elm, over a sapling framework. The bark was stripped from the trees in summer in as large sheets as possible and dried. It then provided a watertight house.[130] House furnishings were rather meager. "They. . .make very fine, strong and artistic mats of finely painted spruce roots and strong straw, with all kinds of figures, to decorate and cover the walls with, and to place below their bed clothes."[131] Rush mats were painted and fastened to the walls in winter to keep out the cold. Some houses had "portraits and pictures somewhat rudely carved."[132] By the eighteenth century platforms made of poles, which encircled the walls and served as tables, benches, and beds, were mentioned.[133] The platform was covered by an untanned skin of bear or deer, or else with a mat.

Near each village was one or more sweat houses:

> When they wish to cleanse themselves of their foulness, they go in the autumn, when it begins to grow cold, and make, away off, near a running brook, a small oven, large enough for three or four men to lie in it. In making it they first take twigs of trees, and then cover them tight with clay, so that smoke cannot escape. This being done, they take a parcel of stones, which they heat in a fire, and then put in the oven, and when they think that it is sufficiently hot, they take the stones out again, and go and lie in it, men and women, boys and girls.[134]

Informants (O.A., J.T.) recalled small sweat lodges of this type. Skinner found "small beds of cracked stones and pebbles, without relics, often at some distance from other remains. . ."[135] Thus, archaeological remains tend to confirm the existence of this trait for the prehistoric people of Staten Island.

Clothing.—The amount of clothing worn by the Delawares varied with the season. In summer men wore only a leather breech cloth and women only a short skirt, and they frequently did without moccasins.[136] In colder seasons the principal garment was a skin of beaver, fox, deer, bear, elk, or raccoon.[137] The hair side was worn next to the body in

[129] Wissler, 1917, p. 221; Denton, 1845, p. 7.

[130] Thomas, 1912, p. 341; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 401; Mahr, 1954, pp. 381-82; O. A.

[131] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 222.

[132] O'Callaghan, 1850, I: 282; Hayes, 1954, p. 77.

[133] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 17.

[134] De Vries, 1909, pp. 217-18; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 257, described the sweat lodge in similar terms.

[135] Skinner, 1909, p. 48.

[136] Pastorius, 1912, p. 384; Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 191-92.

[137] De Laet, 1909, p. 97; De Rasieres, 1909, p. 106; Thomas, 1912, p. 341; Juet, 1909, p. 18; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

Very few of them were fortunate enough to have oil on their lands. They either farm their fields or cash rent them. Judging from the state of repair of the houses, those that farm their own fields are more prosperous than those who rent them out. . . . The majority probably rent their fields and subsist on the small cash return, aided by the produce from their gardens, old age pensions, and other occasional sources of income.[3]

I have never seen a farming enterprise among the Cherokee-Delawares which could be considered a successful commercial venture. Some subsistence farming continues, but a large proportion of the adult males work in the various industries of the county, such as the Dewey Portland Cement Company, or the Phillips Petroleum Company. The older Delawares, who have remained in the area, appear to have done so mainly because they possessed no special training which would allow them to rise on the economic ladder or to leave for higher paid employment elsewhere. The older generation also seems to have had no culturally inspired incentives to acquire special skills.

There was considerable hunting in the early days in Oklahoma. Game was still fairly plentiful, and until about 1870 the Delawares had to hunt because their gardens yielded only a precarious livelihood. The chief object of the hunt was traditionally deer, and informants (J.T., O.A.) said that this was true in Oklahoma. They also ventured out onto the plains in quest of the bison. The Anadarko band, because of their location and probably because of their proximity to Plains tribes, made considerably more use of the bison. Besides these animals, prairie chickens, of which there were immense quantities in the early days, wild turkeys, quail, fish, beaver, and raccoon were utilized. In the Caney Valley the hunting was done on horseback, by individuals or at most by small groups. Communal bison hunts occasionally took place on the plains. These included women to do the butchering. Autumn was preferred for communal hunts since the cooler weather allowed the hunters to bring back fresh instead of jerked meat. Preparation, preservation, and storage of food followed the traditional patterns well into this century. Little or no food is dried or jerked by the Cherokee-Delawares at present; most food comes out of the can and is prepared in the Anglo-American tradition.

By the time the Delawares had migrated to Oklahoma the log house (about thirteen by twenty feet) had become the ordinary dwelling. A smaller log house was erected nearby and served as a cookhouse. The bark and sapling wigwam persisted as an auxiliary dwelling until this century, as old informants remember the details of these structures (O.A., M.B.). Small cookstoves were in general use by the time the Delawares appeared in Oklahoma, and the other furnishings were primarily of American origin and design. Gradually the early log buildings were replaced by small clapboard dwellings. Houses today are usually in poor repair and are overcrowded and small; they are comparable to those of the poorer whites of the area. No pottery was manufactured in

[3] Kinietz, 1946, p. 13.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

854 the mother going to fetch water or on some other errand. The children by pushing and kicking not infrequently tumbled themselves into the fire or other danger and thus miserably perished, or were severely burned. For this reason the custom is in disfavor.

342 Their houses are fairly clean, some being superior in this respect and affording a comfortable night's lodging for a [574] European. In case a guest is expected, especially if it be a white [356] person, they prepare as comfortable a bed as possible. They sweep the bunk, that serves as seat and table in the daytime and as bed at night, and spread a mat with one or more deer or bear [362] skins upon it. Though usually a comfortable couch in summer time it may be made very uncomfortable by the fleas brought in by dogs. Their kettles, dishes and spoons are not kept in good order; sometimes they are only licked by the dogs in lieu of washing. Dishes and spoons they make themselves of wood, [415 322] sometimes of tree knots or growths, often very neatly. The spoons are generally large and round shaped. Occasionally, a spoon will be used by several people, turn about, at a meal. Brass kettles, to be found in most houses because very necessary for sugar boiling, are bought from the whites.

24 The Indians are lovers of finery and dress, the women more than the men; the latter take care that the women adorn themselves in proper manner. The men clothe themselves rather meanly, regarding it as a disgrace to be better appareled than their wives. The dress which particularly distinguishes the women is a petticoat or strowd, blue, red or black, made of a piece of cloth about two yards long, adorned with red, blue or yellow bands laid double and bound about the body. Many women wear a white shirt over the strowd, decorated with silver buckles, the more the better. Red or blue leggings are worn, made of fine cloth joined by a broad band of silk bordered with coral. These leggings reach only to the feet. Shoes are made very neatly. Over the first strowd they may wear another, not decorated with ribbons, which if it inconveniences them in their movements may be easily laid aside. Thus clad a woman is well dressed. In [296] place of the white shirts, blue linen or cotton may be worn. When [386] they wear a white shirt, which is preferably of fine linen, it is often decked with cinnabar about the neck.

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

work of the women is not hard or difficult. They are both able and willing to do it, and always perform it with cheerfulness. I have never known an Indian woman to complain of the hardship of carrying this burden (a pack on making a journey) which serves for their own comfort and support as well as their husbands . . . . the fatigue of the women is by no means to be compared to that of the men. Their hard and difficult employments are periodical and of short duration, while their husbands' labours are constant in the extreme. Were a man to take upon himself a part of his wife's duty, in addition to his own, he must necessarily sink under the load, and of course his family must suffer with him"—*An account of the History, Manners and Customs of the Indian nations* (1817) 146-7. As to the universal cheerfulness of Indian women Zeisberger is at variance with his compatriot. "The Indian women," writes Loskiel, "are more given to stealing, lying, quarreling, backbiting and slandering than the men"—*History of the Mission of the United Brethren*, (1794), 16. In our numerous references to the above mentioned writers, in footnotes, we shall use the following terminology, Heckewelder's *History*, Heckewelder's *Narrative*, and Loskiel's *History*.

8. Zeisberger, it must always be remembered, is writing in Ohio; his references to the country to the northward are the result of his acquaintance with the Six Nations in New York State.

9. The Onondaga tribe of Six Nations, located near Syracuse, New York.

9½. Zeisberger seems here to imply that the country of the Shawanese was Kentucky; elsewhere he clearly speaks of the Scioto Valley as but one hundred miles distant.

10. Contrary to the taste of other Indians, as the Dakotas, Schoolcraft, *History*, Pt. IV, 67.

11. Breech cloth.

12. Singularly enough, everything in an Indian's cabin had its specific owner. "Every individual knows what belongs to him, from the horse or cow down to the dog, cat, kitten and little chicken. For a litter of kittens or brood of chickens there are often as many different owners as there are individual animals. Thus while the principle of community of goods prevails in the State, the rights of property are acknowledged among the members of a family"—Heckewelder, *History*, 147-8.

13. Indian Hemp; *Apocynum cannabium*, L.

14. Monsey, one of the Three Tribes of the Delawares living chiefly on the Beaver River.

15. Bunks made of boards.

16. The expression here is singular and shows that the western, migratory Iroquois were clearly distinguished from those who remained in the "Long House" in New York State.

252
262 Flour was either ground between two stones or pounded in a mortar and pestle by the Delaware. The mortar was usually a hollowed tree trunk, the pestle a suitably shaped stone (Smith, p. 138; [412] Lindstrom, pp. 253-54; Abbott, 1875, p. 357; Kalm, p. 230).

276 Stone pottery and clay pipes have been uncovered on archae-
323 ological sites. Lindstrom describes the Lenape pipes as beautifully
324 painted and glazed with birds and animals on the head. He says there are some "...an ell in length, which are screwed together with leather,...and in these pipe-heads will go a handful of tobacco" (Lindstrom, p. 197). These were presumably of European manufacture. The pipes which have been recovered from old sites are of a much humbler variety (Abbott, 1875, pp. 343-44; Skinner, 1909, p. 27; Butler, p. 249). This apparent inconsistency can be readily explained, however, by assuming that Lindstrom was referring to the calumets or peace pipes, which were relatively rare and would be likely to have been carried west by the owners when they moved (Kalm, pp. 231-32).

285 Some household items manufactured by the Delaware women were
[283] mats, ropes and baskets made from wild hemp, spruce roots, corn husks and rushes. The mats, which were sometimes painted or had figures worked in or over the weave, were hung on the walls for increased protection against the elements as well as to beautify the house (Smith, p. 138; Lindstrom, p. 221; Harrington, 1913, p. 224). They were also used as part of the bedding together with the skin or
287 turkey-feather robes which served as clothing during the day (Johnson, p. 280; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 203). The turkey-feather robes deserve special attention as they were evidently one of the most distinctive and beautiful of the Delaware's manufactures. Lindstrom says: "They also make fine and beautiful quilts of painted bird feathers. In the first place they tie them with meshes like nets, yet very fine; then they fasten the feathers in the meshes, so neat and strong that not one feather can come loose from it..." (Lindstrom, pp. 221-22). When there was a "bed," it consisted of a wooden
352 shelf running around the interior wall of the house and serving as a seat by day (Harrington, 1913, p. 218; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 17; Skinner, 1915, p. 7).

342 The most common type of Delaware house was a small hut consisting of a rectangular, gabled frame of saplings covered with bark or mats. Penn describes their houses thus: "Their Houses are Mats, or Bark of Trees set on Poles, in the fashion of an English Barn, but out of the power of the Winds, for they are hardly higher than a Man..." (Penn, p. 31). Some Delaware, however, constructed a house large enough to accommodate several families, the increase in size all deriving from greater length. The result was not unlike an Iroquois longhouse.[6] In the center of the house was one or more fires depending on the length of the building, and the ridge of the roof was arranged with an opening through which the smoke could

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

861 classes and text books were not a basic part of the system, but the descriptions of the teaching of Indian children show that they were definitely educated to fill their places in the society of which they were members. At a very early age children were given as 868 867 toys models of implements they would use in earnest in later life. These were different for each sex. For example, a boy would be given a tiny bow with straws for arrows; then, as he grew up, the size and effectiveness of the weapons would be increased until he was able to kill every sort of game as a full-fledged hunter. Girls were given dolls and very early instructed in the fundamentals of making baskets and pots. A considerable amount of the instruction given to children was by example and explanation incidental to actual practices by the parents or other elders, and by the relation of stories and myths. Therein lies the explanation of the failure of many early writers to find a "system" of education among the Indians. As a matter of fact, the reports of the age at which childhood was considered to cease show that the training of youths among the Indians was completed while they were still quite young (106).

597 Johnston and Chipps definitely stated that orphaned children were never adopted by relatives, although the care of orphans usually devolved upon the nearest relations in the absence of adoption (107-12). Zeisberger's statement that orphans were often given or bequeathed to old women may be construed the same way. Among the sources only Pipe gave relatives a prior claim on orphans. He said that maternal grandparents were bound by custom to take care of children on the death of the parents, but that, if they too were dead, other relatives or friends might take them. All of the modern informants agree that relatives of orphans could and did adopt them, although childless friends or neighbors who desired them often were given the orphans if they made their desires known. From the available information it looks as if there was a change in customs regarding the adoption of orphans within the fourth period.

854 The cradleboard must have been discarded by the Delaware 352 early in the fourth period, for of the modern informants not even the oldest had ever seen one in use among the Delaware

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

(116). While three of them had heard of the former use of cradleboards, one, J. W., denied ever hearing of them among the Delaware, although he was familiar with their use by other tribes.

Marriage and Its Incidents

From the majority of the accounts denying courtship between the principals of a marriage it appears that Chipps's description of a brief courtship which was also a marriage ceremony was not typical of the Delaware (131).[1] Lindeström's record of fantastic promiscuity of all the people except the chiefs need not be considered one way or the other. Such a condition would not be reasonable for any people and certainly could not have existed among the Delaware in 1654 without many more than Lindeström having been aware of it. Chipps and Lindeström are also the only dissenters to the statement that marriages were arranged by the parents (132). As already mentioned, Lindeström's statements are not trustworthy on the subject of marriage and Chipps was reporting a Canadian Munsee group that differed in many respects from the Delaware group in this country. His remarks on marriage are applicable to the Chippewa with whom the Canadian Munsee were in contact and with whom they intermarried. In the light of Pipe's remark about the ignoring of formality,[2] it is probable that Chipps's statements reflect a condition in the third period not wholly attributable to the Chippewa or confined to the Canadian Delaware.

According to the tabulation of remarks on the asking of the consent of either party, parents in the first two periods were much more considerate of the wishes of their children than parents in the last two periods (133). The explanation probably lies in the statements of Zeisberger and Pipe that refusals to comply with the wishes of parents were rare. The story told by E. R. is an example of the means used by parents and other elders to keep the young folks in line.[3]

[1] See *post*, p. 107.
[2] See *post*, p. 109.
[3] See *post*, pp. 107-8.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

121. Cradle put in hammock 854

W. L. said that a cradleboard was formerly used but that 352
his children were all raised in a cradle hammock, consisting of a cloth or piece of blanket, two ropes and two sticks. The ropes were suspended parallel, the edges of the blanket fastened to or around the ropes, and the sticks placed at the ends of the blanket to keep the ropes apart.

123. Any difference in treatment of legitimate and illegitimate children 848 [836]

W. T.—No difference because Delaware never had latter. Young folks did not play around—old folks watched them too close.

Marriage and Its Incidents

131. Courtship

Captain Chipps—Courtships are brief. If a man sees a 584
woman whom he likes, he gives her presents, and persuades her [836]
to sleep with him. Should they be mutually pleased, they afterwards live together as man and wife. The consent of parents on the subject is seldom asked—although it is considered proper [585]
to consult parents on the subject. If a marriage is consummated as above, and the parents are displeased, they use their exertions to separate the young couple—they fail, however, for the newmarried couple elope, when the alarm is sounded. There is no ceremony of marriage but the above.

E. R.—Both girls and boys were told to accept the first pro- 584
posal they received. The old people kept telling them this and 577
to show what might happen to them if they did not do this they 539
told the following story. Once there was a girl who was very pretty, one boy after another wanted to marry her but she did not care much for any of them and would not listen to her old folks. Then one day when she was out in the woods she met a very handsome young stranger. She fell for him, and when he said he wanted to take her home with him, she agreed. He took her into a nearby hollow where he had a very nice home. He told his mother he had brought home a wife and she was very

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

A turkey's [1] wing is used when they sweep out in the Big House. And besides, the Attendant carries a long stick as a poker and that is used when they stir up the fire, and it is the rule that they shall light a good bright fire every night as long as they perform the ceremony. And the Attendant-leader every evening walks around all over where they are camped about this Big House, holding a whip. And any person that they find that is causing unnecessary noise they correct. And the children are instructed. And he notifies them, telling them thrice "Come in! Come in! Come in!" And just recently they selected an officer from the Delaware Agency who is on guard all the time here while they are assembled, so that no one brings in liquor.[2]

[1] The specific term for the Wild Turkey (Meleagris gallipavo) is tel'kanam, a term derived from the habit of this bird of scratching or "cleaning" the floor of the forest. In native Delaware ornithology, the order Gallinae is denoted by the generic term palee' which denotes any of the birds of the group, though writers on Delaware social organization have occasionally rendered the term by "turkey." Happily no natural history obsequies are called for in the case of this splendid bird for it still survives in its original range where the Delawares knew it.

[2] The informant pointed to this as an indication of the lack of reverence, and indecency of behavior in the tribe under the influence of the white man's ways. Zeisberger (op. cit. p. 139) commented on the same thing as regards disorder at the feasts.

When any one of us considers the rule with all the obligations and instructions as these are properly carried out, it should be forbidden for one thing that those of our women who when they cannot cook[1] are not pure, be allowed to trouble about the cooking. And should not come in the Big House as long as they are affected with the sickness, because some pure children might be much contaminated, especially when they perform the Gamwing. And it is the rule that persons should abstain from bringing into the Big House any animals of whatever kind they may be which are domesticated.[2]

[1] Being in their catamenial periods.

[2] This has special reference to dogs, pigs, etc. Some discussion has previously been given concerning the status of the wild animals of the forest and those domesticated by man. The Attendants are expected to attack any such animals that come into the Big House and drive them away with their staffs.

And right here opposite from the door on the outside over there at a certain distance they make the fire. Two forked poles are set upright and a pole laid across, upon which they hang the big buckets in which they cook. Near here standing upright is a many-forked tree where meat is hung. And a big shelf is there at one side of the fireplace with two floors where they put the corn that is used. When hominy is made the female Attendants have for their duty every morning and evening to grind and make corn flour and hominy. Sometimes two or four mortars are used together with those long pounders.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

These are the three ways in which a person is endowed that he becomes useful, or a magician.[1] And a person can become a warleader; that also is called greatness.

[1] The term mote'ina in Delaware signifying "shaman" introduces a term recognised throughout the Algonkian range with identical force.

II

FIRST NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

The Master of Ceremony[1] says when he goes into[2] the Big House, when rising to his feet, he speaks saying, "Truly I am thankful, my kindred. It is exceedingly good that we have lived on through to see each other, that we are in good health. I am truly thankful to bring forth[3] the blessing, my brothers and sisters and those there, our children. I bless you all with every kind of blessing. Truly it is unbecoming to me because I feel incompetent when instructing you what to do. Pitiful am I, indeed, as it is said. It rests very heavily upon my mind when I see each year how at present this our way of living has become pitiful. But nevertheless we must all try, my brothers and sisters and also even those children. Let everyone use his mind earnestly when we lift up our prayer of appeal to that one, our father, the Great Spirit and Our Creator. Indeed it is with great sadness of mind that we look back and see the past of our cultural-life as it is said to have been. Formerly, but a few years ago, it is said, here the seating space in the Big House[4] was overcrowded with our now deceased relations. Indeed it brings sadness of mind when we see here now how few of our relatives are seated around that space. It is enough to make anyone ponder over the cause of it. I myself never did think that I would live long enough, as a survivor, living as I am right here, instructing in sacred things where other sacred teachers, our deceased ancestors,[5] so thoroughly inspired in worship, taught.

[1] A proper name in the ceremonial sense, elha'k éete

[2] By this figure the formal opening of the ceremony is denoted, tami'ke, "to go in."

[3] The Master of Ceremony is regarded as the sponsor for all the blessings that result from the performance not only to the participants themselves, and to the tribe, but to the whole of mankind.

[4] He refers to the covering of straw laid around inside the walls of the Big House where the participants are sitting. No chairs or benches are permitted here. They are not of the ancient days.

[5] How little the Delawares have changed in their mental attitude since 1742-is shown by comparison of the above reverential discourse with a declaration made by the missionary David Brainerd who labored, and finally succumbed to the effort, to swerve the same tribe from loyalty toward the beliefs of their ancestors. His lament was that they were so much attached "to the traditions and fabulous notions of their fathers, which they firmly believe, and thence look upon their ancestors to have been the best of men." (Life and Journal of the Rev. David Brainerd, pp. 397-425 (Edinburgh 1820) quoted by Brinton op. cit., p. 137).